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## CONTRIBUTIONS TO ALGONQUIAN GRAMMAR

By TRUMAN MICHELSON

THOUGH the bulk of this paper is concerned primarily with the Fox language, nevertheless the above title is adhered to as the discussion involves some of the more general aspects of Algonquian grammar. The Kickapoo citations are from the texts collected by the late Dr William Jones. The Fox citations are partly from the *Fox Texts* (by page and line) by the same author, partly from the present writer's texts, and partly from what he has heard in conversation; no words are cited which were obtained by direct questioning. The author's Fox texts were collected in the current syllabary, being written out by Indians who spoke little or no English. I have restored the phonetics according to the scheme of Dr Jones. The numerals within brackets refer to the sections of the Algonquian sketch in the *Handbook of American Indian Languages*.

### PHONETIC CHANGES

#### I. *n* TO *c*

The change of *n* to *c* occurs before an *i* which is either a new morphological element or the initial sound of such an element. This has disguised a good many instrumental particles. Examples are: *kanōci* (J. 298.26) TALK TO IT (an.) [-*i* 31] as contrasted with *ā'kanōnetiwātcī* (M.) THEN THEY CONVERSED TOGETHER [*ā*—*wātcī*, 29; -*n*-, 21, 37; -*e*-, 8; -*tī*-, 38]; *āhicigī* (M.) I WAS TOLD [*ā*—*igī*, 41] contrasted with *āhinātcī* (J. 240.16, etc.) HE SAID TO HIM [*ā*—*ātcī*, 29; -*n*-, 21, 37]; *mīciyāgāgu<sup>a</sup>* (J. 32.12) YOU MIGHT GIVE TO HIM [-*iyāgāgu<sup>a</sup>*, 30] but *kīmīneguwāwa* (J. 32.13) HE SHALL GIVE YOU [*kī*—*guwāw<sup>a</sup>*, 28; -*n*-, 21, 37; -*e*-, 8]; *pyācit<sup>a</sup>* (M.) HE WHO BROUGHT ME [-*i<sup>a</sup>*, 33] but *nepyānāw<sup>a</sup>* (M.) I BROUGHT HER [*ne*—*āw<sup>a</sup>*, 28; *pyā*, 16; -*n*-, 21, 37]; *māAcīyAmetci<sup>gī</sup>* (M.) THEY WHO OVERTOOK US (excl.) [-*iyAmetci<sup>gī</sup>*, 33; change of stem vowel, 33] but *āmadAnegut<sup>cī</sup>*

(J. 168.5) AS HE WAS OVERTAKEN [*ä—tc<sup>i</sup>*, 29; *maDA*, *maTA*, 16; -*n*-, 21, 37; -*e*-, 8; -*gu*-, 41] *ämyācitāhātci* (M.) HE HAD DOLEFUL FEELINGS IN HIS HEART [*ä—tc<sup>i</sup>*, 29; -*itā*-, 18; -*hā*-, 20] but *myānegāw<sup>a</sup>* (in the grammatical sketch) HE DANCES POORLY [*myā*-, initial stem; -*n*-, 8; -*egā*-, 19; -*w<sup>a</sup>*, 28]. The change occurs in Sauk and Kickapoo naturally enough. It likewise evidently occurs in Potawatomi: *kamīnen* I GIVE THEE, but *mīcin* GIVE (THOU) ME [these would be *kemīnene* and *mīcin<sup>u</sup>* in Fox; both constructed by myself; see sections 28 and 31]. It is important to find out if this is a Pan-Algonquian law or confined to certain languages. That *ni* when in the same morphological unit remains is clear from -*nitci* [34], -*n<sup>i</sup>* [42]. A preceding *e* prevents the action of the law: *tō'keni* (M.) WAKE HIM UP [*tō'k-*, 16; -*e*-, 8; -*n*-, 21, 37; -*i*-, 31]; *pāgisēnig<sup>u</sup>* (M.) SET ME FREE [*pāgi*-, 16; -*sen*-, 20; -*ig<sup>u</sup>* YE—ME (the form given in section 31 is due to some error; Shawnee and Kickapoo have -*ig<sup>u</sup>* likewise)]. Furthermore the law does not take place in the demonstrative (47) and interrogative (49) pronouns, due either to the influence of other sounds or to the morphology structure of these pronouns which is quite unclear.

## 2. CHANGE OF *s* TO *c*

Certain variations of *s* and *c* are probably due to mishearing. Neither sound is quite like the corresponding English one, hence the confusion. But the following is a true phonetic process: *s* becomes *c* before an *i* which is either a new morphological element or the initial sound of such an element. Examples are *necigu* (M.) KILL (YE) ME [for -*ig<sup>u</sup>*, see above], *neciyan<sup>e</sup>* (J. 54.21) IF THOU SLAY ME as compared with *nesegus<sup>a</sup>* (J. 168.13) HE WOULD HAVE BEEN SLAIN [stem *ne*-, not *nes*- as given in the sketch (p. 784); -*s*-, 21; -*e*-, 8; -*gu*-, 41; -*sa*-, 30], etc. The interchange of *s* and *t* is morphological: see section 21. The change apparently does not apply to cases of nouns combined with the copula -*i*-.

## 3. CHANGE OF *t* TO *tc*

It is perfectly clear from a comparison of the intransitive third person singular animate -*ta*-, -*te*-, -*tci* of the participial, present sub-

junctive, and conjunctive, respectively, that *t* changes to *tc* under the same conditions.

#### 4. CHANGE OF -*ya*- TO -*yä*-

The word for HIS MOTHER is *ugyāni*. It is evident that this stands for *u-gi-Ani*, cf. *ugiwāwan<sup>i</sup>* (J. 154.9) THEIR MOTHER just as *negy<sup>a</sup>* MY MOTHER stands for *ne-gi-a*: see section 45 (*u*—[*m*]*Ani* is the sign of the third person animate possessive pronoun singular). It may be noted here that plurals such as *asenyān<sup>i</sup>* STONES, are due to the same cause: they stand for *-i-Ani*, with the *i* taken over from the singular as shown by the normal ending *-Ani* (inanimate pl.). As *-ya-* is retained in the conjunctive, etc., it would seem that a preceding consonant is required to make *-ya-* become *-yä-*. [*ketaiyäg<sup>i</sup>*, THY PETS, J. 298.16; and *utaiyān<sup>i</sup>*, HIS PET, J. 298.28, are to be explained similarly: the *i* of *ai* is consonantal.]

#### 5. CHANGE OF -*wa*- TO -*ō*-

As can be seen from the folder at the end in the *Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, the change of *-wa-* to *-ō-* (*u*) after a consonant, is found in many Central Algonquian languages. However, the actual consonants after which this change takes place are not yet determined, and I have some evidence to show that the languages concerned do not all agree. This may be due in part to analogical levelings. What I wish to point out here is that plurals such as *me'tegōni* (M., and in the grammatical sketch) TREES, are really contracted from *me'tegw-Ani*, and *nenusōg<sup>i</sup>* (in sketch) BUFFALOES, from *nenusw-Agi*. Similarly *kīcesōn<sup>i</sup>* (J. and M.) SUN, obviative (objective) is for *kīcesw-Ani*. The forms are wrongly discussed in the sketch.

#### NOTE ON INTERVOCALIC CONSONANTS

On page 752 of the sketch I have expressed the conviction that the so-called intervocalic consonants are probably morphological elements, and tried to show that *-tci-*, not *-tc-*, was one of the elements. Examples supporting this are: *kepyātcinānen<sup>o</sup>* (J. 40.12) I'VE COME TO TAKE YOU AWAY WITH ME [*ke*—*ne*, 28; *pyä*, *nā*, 16; *-n-*, 21, 37];

*nepyätcinānāw<sup>a</sup>* (J. 42.4) I'VE COME TO TAKE HER AWAY WITH ME [*ne—āw<sup>a</sup>*, 28]; *kepyätcinatumenepw<sup>a</sup>* (M.) I HAVE COME TO INVITE YOU [*ke—nepw<sup>a</sup>*, 28; *pyä-*, 16; *natu-*, 16; *-m-*, 21; *-e-*, 8]; *kepyätcinawihene* (J. 256.7) I HAVE COME TO VISIT YOU [*nawi-* initial stem; *ke—ne*, 28; *-h-*, 21, 37; *-e-*, 8]; *nepyätcikaski'tō* (M.) I'VE COME TO BUY [*ne-*, 28; *kaski-*, 16; *-tō*, 37].

#### NOTES ON THE VERBAL COMPLEX

From a careful study of Dr Jones' Fox and Kickapoo texts, as well as of the Fox texts of the writer, it seems that the very great firmness in the unity of the verbal complex is only apparent, not real. All sorts of incorporation can and do occur, save the incorporation of the nominal object and subject in the transitive verb. The following will illustrate in measure the above: *netcāgimāmegunā'kawani'tō* (M.) I HAVE REALLY INDEED LOST THEM ALL AGAIN [*ne-*, 28; *-tō*, 37; *tcāgi*, 16; *wani*, 16; incorporation of particles *mā* and *megu*, and the adverb *nā'ka* between the two 'initial' stems]; *ā'pōnimegutātagi'anwatciwīgata'mowātc<sup>i</sup>* (M.) THEY INDEED CEASED PAYING THE SLIGHTEST ATTENTION TO IT [*ā—amowātc<sup>i</sup>*, 29; *-t-*, 21, 37; incorporation of particles *megu* and *tātagi* after the initial stem *pōni* (16)]; *kikutcimā'wīnāmāinatcihene* (Kickapoo, J.) I WILL CERTAINLY TRY TO HELP YOU [for *kī—ne*, 28; *-h-*, 21, 37; *-e-*, 8; incorporation of particles *mā* and *wīna* between the initial stems *kutci* and *māi* (Fox *māwi*)]; *ā'pwāwāpeneskimātc<sup>i</sup>* (J. 138.20) IT WAS NEVER HIS WAY TO SCOLD HER [*ā—ātci*, 29; *pwāwi*, 35.3, the terminal *i* is lost before the initial vowel of *āpe*; incorporation of the particle *āpe* (*āpe'e*) before the initial stem *neski*, 16; *-m-*, 21, 37]; *ā'pwāwimegu mō'tc ane'kī a'tānigi* (J. 118.20) THERE WAS NOT EVEN A LITTLE [incorporation of the particles *megu* and *mō'tci*; *ane'kī* is difficult to label]; *ātaswikutcimegōnimesahōtci* (M.) AS OFTEN INDEED AS SHE TRIED TO JUMP [*ā—tci*, 29; incorporation of the particle *megōni* after the initial stems *taswi* (16) and *kutci*; *-m-*, 8; *-esahō-* evidently the same as the secondary stem *-isahō-*, 18].

We now come to examples of more radical incorporation: *ā'pyätcī'ōsabāmegutci<sup>i</sup>* (M.) WHEN HIS FATHER CAME TO SEE HIM [really a passive; *ā—tc<sup>i</sup>*, 29; *pyätcī* discussed above; *-m-*, 21, 37;

-e-, 8; -gu-, 41; *ōsa* apparently an abbreviated form of *ōsani* (HIS FATHER), resembling *utōtāma* or *utōtāmāni* (HIS GIVER OF SUPERNATURAL POWER); *bā* apparently is a shortened form of *wābā* to see, an initial stem, 16: cf. section 12; the shortened forms suggest the intimate association in the compound]; *ā'pwāwigāi'uwīyā'akaskik-anawitci* (M.) THEN TRULY NO ONE WAS ABLE TO SAY A WORD [incorporation of a particle *gāi* and indefinite subjective pronoun, 48, before two initial stems]; *ā'pōnikāgōi'icitāhātci* (M.) THEN HE CEASED THINKING OF ANYTHING [incorporation of indefinite inanimate objective pronoun (*kāgōi*, 48) after the initial stem *pōni*, CESSATION, 16; and before the initial stem *ici*, THUS, 16; -itā-, 18; fusion of terminal and initial *i*, 10; -hā-, 20; ā—*tci*, 29]; *ā'pwāwimegukāgōi'ketōnitci* (Kickapoo, J.) AS THE OTHER INDEED DID NOT SAY ANYTHING [incorporation of the particle *megu* and indefinite pronoun *kāgōi* as above; fusion of the terminal vowel of *kāgōi* and *i'ketō*, an initial stem, TO SAY; ā—*nitci*, 34; *pwāwi*, 35]; *ā'paimeguawīyāhipyā'tōtci* (Kickapoo, J.) HE DID NOT BRING ANYTHING [*pai* corresponds to Fox *pāwi*, 12; incorporation of *megu* (as above) and *awīyāhi*, an indefinite pronoun, inanimate singular, before the initial stem *pyā*, 16; 'tō, 37; ā—*tci*, 29]; *wī'pwāwi'acāhahike'kānemegutci* (J. 224.7) THAT SHE MIGHT NOT BE FOUND OUT BY THE SIOUX [final *i* lost before a vowel; *wī*—*tci*, 29; *pwāwi*, 35; *ke'k*-, initial stem, 16; -āne-, 18; -*m*-, 21, 37; -e-, 8; -gu-, 41; *acāhahi* same as *Acāha'i* SIOUX, obviative pl.; incorporation of the logical nominal subject].

The following illustrate a very curious type of incorporation: *ā'ugwisiwātci* (M.) THEN THEY HAD A SON [ā—*wātci*, 29; -*i*-, 20]; *kī'ugwisemene* (M.) I WILL HAVE YOU AS SON [*kī*—*ne*, 28; -*m*-, 21, 37; -e- (both times), 8]; *kī'unāpāmemene* (M.) I WILL HAVE YOU AS HUSBAND [*kī*—*ne*, 28; -*me*- (second one), 21, 37, 8]; *ketugimenepena* (M.) WE HAVE THEE AS MOTHER [*ke*—*nepena*, 28; -*t*-, 28; -*me*- as above]; *nīhutūgimāmipena* (J. 28.6) WE WOULD HAVE THEE AS OUR CHIEF [an error for *kī*—*ipena*, 28 (see 13); -*h*-, 8; -*m*- (second time), 21, 37]; *āhutānesiwātci* (J. 66.15) THEY HAD A DAUGHTER [ā—*wātci* and -*i*- as above; -*h*, 8]; *ā'pōnunāpāminītc* (J. 70.9) AND SHE NO LONGER HAD HIM FOR HER HUSBAND [final vowel of *pōni*, the initial stem, 16, is lost before *u*-; ā—*nitci*, 34; -*i*-, 20]. That we have pos-

sessed nouns incorporated is evident enough. The *u-* strongly resembles the *u-* of the third person possessive pronouns; note *ugwīsan<sup>i</sup>* (M.) HIS SON; *ugīwāwan<sup>i</sup>* (J. 154.9) THEIR MOTHER; *unāpāman<sup>i</sup>* (J. 162.4) HER HUSBAND; *utānesan<sup>i</sup>* (M.) HIS DAUGHTER; I lack an example for CHIEF(s) with the third person possessive, but the structure would be the same as shown by *ketūgimāmenānag<sup>i</sup>* (J. 62.22) OUR (inclusive) CHIEFS. See section 45 of the sketch. The question arises whether originally the *u-* of the possessive pronouns did not originally mean possession by any one, and only secondarily became fixed as representing third persons. It will be observed that the terminal elements which would occur in nouns by themselves do not occur in the verbal compound.

The extreme limit of incorporation is reached in incorporating verbs within verbs: *pwāwi'ācimenāge'icawiyane* (M.) IF YOU DO NOT DO AS WE TELL YOU [*pwāwi*, 35; (*i*)*cawī*, do, 16; *ā—nāge*, 29; *-me-*, 21, 37, 8; *ci* possibly for *ici* (see section 12), or *cim* is an initial stem; *e* the phonetic insert; *-yane*, 29]; *kī'pōni'ānāpamiyanināpami* (M.) AS THOU HAST BEEN SEEING ME, THOU WILT CEASE SEEING ME [*kī—i*, 28; *pōni*, CESSATION, 16; *ā—iyani*, 29; *-n-* (both times), 8; *-m-* (both times), 21, 37; *āpa* TO SEE, initial stem (see section 9)].

It should be stated here that compounds of the type 'HE WOULD HAVE BECOME CHIEF' (*ugimāwis<sup>a</sup>*, J. 26. 16) occur in which the noun is stripped of the terminal animate ending and combined with the copula *-i-* with the ordinary verbal endings.

It is obvious that stems will have to be reclassified. It is quite certain that a class corresponding to the accepted secondary stems will occur, but whether the present two-fold division will be maintained or classed in a different manner is uncertain. That the present so-called initial stems will have a different classification seems reasonable. There is an essential difference between stems such as *tcāgi* TOTALITY, *kutci* TRY, *asāmi* TOO MUCH which can occur outside as well as inside the verbal compound, and such stems as *pyā* TO COME, *mīgā* TO FIGHT, *kaski* ABILITY which can occur only within the compound. Moreover it is possible that a new division may be made according to the position of incorporated particles, and the like. Also the position of stems in noun-formation will have to be taken into consideration.

From what has been said above it will be seen that the firmly united part of the verbal compound seems to be the pronominal elements and the instrumental particles. Yet it may be mentioned that though in some cases the original meaning of the instrumental particles is kept with great fidelity, in the majority of cases the original meaning has faded, and it is a matter of absolute convention as to which particle is used with any given verbal stem. It also appears that not all stems can be combined with each other. In other words, in Algonquian words may be analytically separated into the constituent elements, but these elements can not always be combined synthetically to form new words.

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